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transferred afterwards, so that the surmises of our men would seem really to be founded on fact in most instances. The question, however, is to know if this has to be so or if it can be otherwise. 844

Now, it has been proved already to everybody's satisfaction that a woman may give birth to her child anywhere, even in the field; and so I believe that I am justified in stating that an Isneg woman is usually delivered somewhere in the house, that the exact place is of no importance, and that in case she was not lying near the hearth during the event, she has to be brought there immediately afterwards, or, as in the Bayag case, the hearth has to be brought to her.

The latter case may even help to prove the exactness of my statement. It may happen of course that the hearth is brought into the house before the birth of the child; but that this must be done necessarily is very doubtful. Indeed that bulky piece of furniture has forcibly to be handled by several men, and one wonders how the men would always and in every case be able to proceed to this burdensome operation before all approach to the future mother is barred to them, especially when one considers on the one hand how little the Isneg care for the future, for what is not actually at hand, and on the other hand, how suddenly the occurrence under consideration may startle the whole household.

Consequently it is more than probable that the location of the mother at the time of delivery is unimportant, while her subsequent position near the hearth of the house is required as an absolute necessity.

From now on the mother has to sleep at the same place every night, although she may have been moving around the house or even outside during the daytime. This lasts as long as she is considered too weak to comply with all her ordinary duties. 846

Is she should dare leave the house at night, for instance to satisfy the wants of nature, she is liable to meet a certain spirit who is in the habit of coming down from his home in the sky whenever a child has been born. Meeting that *anito* means nothing else to the mother but becoming affected at once with a violent diarrhea. A woman who has been struck with that disease through the action of the spirit just mentioned is said to be *maanikān*. For the rest the Isneg do not know the name of this imp; he is known only by the bad effects that result from a woman in confinement meeting him at night outside her house. Unlike *Talomāsim*, who will be mentioned presently, he exerts his influence only at night, and besides, although the Isneg 846 776

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846 776 know how to keep *Talomásim* at a distance, in the case of this nameless spirit they are absolutely powerless: the only way for a young Isneg mother to avoid him is to stay in the house at night.

846 372 Fire (*apúy*) plays a very important role whenever a new Isneg citizen has been born on our planet. Leaving aside the question of the place of the mother near the hearth of the house which has just been mentioned, I should like to draw attention to the following:

1. Although, even under ordinary circumstances, the fire of the hearth is rarely extinguished completely, it is of paramount importance that it should not be let go out for a single moment during the whole period that immediately follows the birth of a child, which period lasts until the mother has recovered sufficient strength to move around freely, in fact, I believe, as long as the mother has to sleep near the hearth at night.

2. At least on the first day, that is before the child is one day old, it is absolutely forbidden for anybody to take fire or firebrands (*alitán*) from the hearth: this is strictly taboo (*kannáw*).

3. No alien fire may be brought inside the house on that day.

4. Three other taboos have also probably to do with the respect shown to fire on such an occasion: again at least during the first day, it is strictly forbidden to use green bamboos (*namáta ńa bólo*) to feed the fire. The same prohibition is extended to the passing of green leaves over the fire in order to soften them: this is very often done with young banana leaves, young palm leaves, etc. that will be used for packing and other purposes; the fire renders them very supple and easily pliable, in such a way preventing them from splitting at every turn. A third taboo concerns anything green (*namáta*), not dry: nothing of the kind is allowed to be brought into the house. Should any of these three taboos be infringed, the Isneg firmly believe that the babe will become thin and emaciated, it will be *malandtān*.

[753 856]

844 A woman in childbed, wherever she be situated inside the house, is assisted by all women who belong to the same household, and even little girls are allowed to witness the birth of a child. Experienced old women of the neighborhood are called in to take the lion's share in bringing the event to a happy issue, in some places always, in others whenever the inmates of the house prove incapable of the task or when the mother has much difficulty in bringing forth her baby. Midwives are called *mańa-lón* in Isneg.

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyáńan*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

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The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpultóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bańsdl* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbaxá* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *baxá* in Isneg.

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A small section of light bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*púsag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tánib*), is placed either on a *duyát* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-luká* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *táxo-* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

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A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*maxadáń*).

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846 778 789 On the wound of the navel the Isneg place some soot and a piece of dried bagasse, in order to scar it and to allow the rest of the umbilical cord to come off easily. The latter (*kázow*) is then placed in a *tázo-* or coconut shell, some ashes are strewn over it, and the whole is buried either at the place of the afterbirth, or somewhere under the house in case the afterbirth has been buried away from it. It seems, however, that in Bayag it serves the same purpose as that of the membrane just referred to, and that it is rolled up in a piece of cloth and stowed away in some trunk belonging to the parents, to be kept as an amulet in business.

846 778 789 The immediate and natural needs of the newborn babe having been attended to, the first concern of the Isneg is to protect the little creature from all possible machinations of the spirits, who seem to have been lying in wait for this new human being to come into the world in order to work their wiles upon it. The Isneg, however, are not backward in finding sure and almost infallible remedies against the machinations of these *anito*, and they usually have the upper hand in this warfare between the world of spirits and that of real men. We have already described how the afterbirth is rendered innocuous or rather how the spirits are obliged to forego all hope of using it as a weapon of offense against the child or its parents; or does the herb that is tied to it force the supernatural world into granting either some of the present wishes of the parents or some of the future ones of the child? Just what is the use of that herb I do not know, and the Isneg will tell you the same; it is the custom, and that is sufficient [811] in most similar cases. Sometimes explanations are given, and I shall not fail to record them in every instance, but these explanations are very often unsatisfactory, and the connection between a certain practice and the reason why it is said to be performed is very often exceedingly loose, and, at least from our point of view, quite inappropriate.

846 789 As soon as a child is born in the house, the Isneg take a coconut shell, place some ashes and some water in it, and put it somewhere near the door, at the inside. After that, the first thing to be done is to forbid access to the house both to the spirits and to people who might bring bad luck to the enriched household.

With reference to the spirits, this is not very hard: there are some objects that an *anito* will never approach even from afar, and provided one knows which object to choose, everything is safe from that side. At Bayag the Isneg place an *ízād* at the door of the house, at

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the outside, immediately after the birth of a child. The *izād* is an instrument that is used to scrape out the meat of the coconut: it mostly consists of a piece of wood fixed upright in a block of the same material, which serves it as a base, and provided at the top with a small tonguelike blade, sometimes more or less in the shape of a half moon, whose edge has been cut out into a row of teeth like a saw. This instrument, according to the Isneg, looks to the *anito* like a frightful dog, at least at the time of the birth of a child, and no spirit will venture to approach the house, as long as that faithful guard remains in position. At Bolo they stretch a *lásiw* (a special kind of vine) crosswise over the entrance. Elsewhere, and this is the most common practice, a spear is stuck in the ground immediately below the ladder, and around the spear are wound two strips of cloth, one red and another one indigo; this contrivance also keeps the *anito* unmercifully at bay. Whether scraper, vine or spear, this guard remains at the door of the house as long as the child is not able to move freely over the floor of the house.

But the ways and means of the spirits are manifold. Although practically no access can be had to the house on account of the spear or the scraper, as the case may be, it might happen that an *anito* uses his evil influence from afar off or approaches the child or its mother by some other way. Therefore to protect the child, a small portion of black wax (*lilín*) is stuck to the hair of the baby, at the whirl somewhere on top of the head; of this, according to the Isneg, the *anito* are much afraid.

The mother, besides inserting some herbs (*kaddáṭ*), the secret of the shaman, in her headband (*laddóṅ*), never fails to stick a small piece of ginger (*basdṅ*) on the blunt projection (*sáwit*) at the back of the small knife (*ikó*), which she always carries stuck in her headband. The shape of the *ikó* is the same as that of the ordinary Isneg headax (*aliwá*), but the latter is much larger; the upper part of the blade of both the *aliwá* and the *ikó* is prolonged at the back into a comparatively long dull pin. That piece of ginger protects the mother from the evil influence of the spirit *Talomásim*. Indeed, as long as she has to sleep near the hearth, she is liable to become sick (*matalomásim*) whenever she leaves the house, even in the daytime; the ginger, however, whose smell *Talomásim* cannot stand, keeps the latter at bay, and the young mother reënters the house without becoming *matalomásim*.

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846 Then men in flesh and bones are to be considered. Now the Isneg do not want to take any chances, and so they forbid access to any outsider, whether a relative or not; nobody is allowed to enter the house, in some places for one day, in others for five days, and in still others (Bayag) for ten days. It is especially and very strictly forbidden, for the same period of time, to any person, whether inmate of the house or not, who has been drinking *básí* (an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), to approach the house where a child has been born. Besides, no inmate of the house is permitted to do heavy work for the same period of time, although he is allowed to leave the house if he chooses to do so, but he may not take anything with him outside. At Bayag, however, the father of the child stays at home for five days; here he is allowed to move around, to occupy himself with light work, etc., but he may not leave the house: this prohibition does not obtain elsewhere.

At any rate frequent visits are believed to be not only harmful, but even decidedly fatal to the young mother; an Isneg woman who dies on that account is said to be *maduńálăn*.

Besides the taboos just enumerated and those mentioned before with reference to fire, the following very important ones should be noted:

No communication of the shaman with the spirits (*maxanito*), no sacrifice, takes place at the birth of a child; all killing of animals in honor of the spirits is strictly *kannáw* (taboo). Is the reason perhaps to be found in the fact that a sacrifice is a kind of invitation to the spirits or at least draws their attention toward the offerers, while they have to be kept away by all means during the first period of the child's life?

For the same reason, namely lest the spirits be attracted toward the house, it is strictly tabooed to bring any kind of light under it (*síduń*) at night, as long as the child and its mother are obliged to stay inside. During the same period of time, no body is allowed to go under the house (*síduń*), whether at night or in the daytime, whether the person in question be an inmate of the house or a stranger.

846 Food forbidden to a woman after her delivery:

262 Fowl, lest she die;

Sugar cane that is provided with buds ready to spring forth into new shoots, lest she remain weak; the *banótăn*, which was forbidden to her while she was still pregnant, also remains taboo;

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Anything fragrant, as pineapples, etc.; also cakes, native Isneg sweets, on account of their fragrance, lest her weakness increase.

She is also forbidden to eat any kind of fish for three days after the birth of her child If both she and her child have enjoyed good health so far, she is allowed to partake of it, after the third night provided it as cooked outside the house and brought in only art it had cooled down. Should she infringe any of these taboos, she liable to become sick, which in this case is called *madawig*.

All Isneg parents are very anxious to give the head of their babe the right shape: so, if the little poll is much too markedly oblong, the grandmother or, in her absence, any other woman lightly presses one of her heels (*túmań*) against its soft part, on top, while the little patient is sprawling on the floor; this is called *tumńán* (past tense: *sinúmań*; from *túmań*, "heel"; in Iloko, *túmeń* means "knee"). In other places, for instance at Bayag, they use another means in order to make the head of the newborn child nicely round: a small squash, duly hollowed out and thoroughly dried, is placed over it in such a way as to fit it exactly.

The period of confinement differs in duration from place to place, and it probably depends very much on the state of the mother; this is perhaps also the reason why the number of days during which some taboos have to be observed, is not always and everywhere the same. In general, however, it may be said that the period of strict confinement does not go beyond one week; after that time, the mother first does some light chores in and around the house, and later on proceeds to her ordinary duties.

In some places she goes to the river (*mamáwa*) two days after the birth of her child; but usually this necessary formality is performed on the fifth day, even though for the rest she continues to remain at home for a much longer period. At Bayag, for instance, it takes her one month before she is allowed definitely to leave the house and to start cleaning the yard, although she made her ceremonial visit to the river on the usual day, the fifth after her delivery When going to the river the mother protects herself from either rain or sunshine by means of a *sarikaw* (a kind of large round flat hat made from palm leaves) In most places she goes there alone; in Bayag, however, she is accompanied by her husband, who also watches her while at work.

But what happens at the time of that visit to the river? What is meant by *mamáwa*? Here is what was told me by the generality of my informants, including Bayag people: the woman goes to the river

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in order to take a bath, the first one after the birth of her child. Now, as to discrepancies in the testimony of my informants:

Only Bayag (Bayag branch of Ô dialect) people, and all of them, called this visit of a mother to the river by the name of *mamáwa*. Others told me either (Abbil branch of Ô dialect) that *mamáwa* was said of a ceremony that takes place at the river after the death of a married woman, and which will be described in due time, or (Bolo, Kumaw: Main branch of Ó dialect; Lettuakan: K branch of Ô dialect; Dibagat, G [Abbil?—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect; Karagawan: Bô dialect) that they knew nothing about its meaning. None of the latter seemed to be cognizant of any special term for the ceremonial bath of a woman after her delivery.

Everybody agreed that the mother took along with her a few herbs (*kaddát*) and a piece of ginger (*basáñ*), articles which have been referred to in a preceding paragraph. But while all others stated that everything was taken back home, one Bayag informant told me that the herbs were thrown into the river and left at the mercy of the current, so that the spirits might smell them and go downstream instead of following the mother. It should be noted in this connection that the smell of ginger is usually loathed by the spirits.

Another Bayag informant included ashes (*abó*) among the articles taken along at the time of the bath in question. He said that a few ashes and a part of the ginger were left at the bathing place and the rest brought home and placed at the foot of the ladder.

The same Bayag man who told me about the herbs being thrown into the river, also emphatically denied the taking of a bath by the young mother. "She goes to the river", he added, "in order to wash her clothes for the first time".

Is it possible to disentangle this whole network of seemingly contradicting statements and to make them all agree? I think so, provided we separate the municipal district of Bayag from the rest of Apayaw. Then we should have something like this:

At Bayag: husband and wife go to the river, take along herbs, ginger and ashes. Once there, the woman takes a bath; but some women may be reluctant to enter the cold water so soon after their delivery and so they may confine themselves to the washing of their clothes. Before leaving the river, they either throw the herbs, whose smell is enjoyed by the spirits, in the river, or leave ashes and ginger, whose smell is loathed by the spirits, near the bathing place, or perhaps do both. Once at home, they put the rest of the ashes and of

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the ginger at the foot of the ladder. If necessary, other herbs and ginger are always available to take the place of the abandoned ones. 846 515

At other places: the young mother goes to the river and takes a bath. Nothing is changed with reference to herbs and ginger, which she took along at the time of her ceremonial bath and which she continues to carry on her person afterwards. 783

With reference to the meaning of *mamáwa*: originally it may have been applied to any kind of ceremonial ablution; later on, it may have been restricted either to the bath of a woman after her delivery (Bayag), or to the ceremony performed after the death of a married woman (Abbil).

While the mother stays inside the house, the other inmates, men not excepted if necessary, take over her ordinary duties, such as fetching water, gathering vegetables, and so on. Bayag is the only place where the husband is forbidden to leave the house for a definite number of days, as has been explained before. 846

The husband does not sleep with his wife for from two to five months after the birth of a child; everything depends on the state of the mother and the strength of the baby. [833]

Should it happen that Christian Iloko merchants from the lowlands come along to sell their wares, which usually consist of clothes, at the time there is a newborn babe in the house, the Isneg father will never fail to get a few strips of cloth as soon as his Iloko friends open their packs, and to burn these rags under the nose of the little one. This ceremony is called *rumídmed*, and not to comply with it is said to be *kanmáw* (bad, taboo). Such burning of cloth for magical and similar purposes is an almost universal custom all over northern Luzon. The Kankanay burn a piece of cloth and throw it outside through the door, at the same time mumbling a prayer, whenever one of their children is addicted to continual crying. The Iloko (Christians) burn cotton or rags not only at the birth of a child, but whenever somebody is sick in the house: they say that the smoke strengthens the breathing of mother and child or of the sick person, as the case may be. When bringing the little one to church for baptism, one of the attending group usually has a burning sliver of cotton in the hand and constantly keeps it as near as possible to the infant that has to be christened, at least if the priest does not object. If they know him to forbid such practices, they try to hide their diminutive torch in time before his coming, somewhere outside the building: the very offensive smell, however, rarely fails to betray them. 852 789 171

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

● 846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 [461 684] The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a [587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are [581 857] then free to marry again. The woman must implicitly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him: 684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced